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STAGE ONE REPORT

ANNEX A

NATURE OF THE ENEMY

CIA HISTORICAL REVIEW PROGRAM
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ANNEX A

NATURE OF THE ENEMY

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PART I

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ANNEX

PART I

PARTIDO GUATEMALTECO DEL TRABAJO (PGT)

I.A. Background

Historically, the Communist movement in Guatemala is divided into two periods, pre-1932 and 1944 to date. Prior to 1932 there existed a "Communist Party of Guatemala" led by a small cadre of uneducated laboring men which was smashed by Dictator UBICO who feared a bloody uprising such as had just occurred in El Salvador. Several of the surviving leaders visited Moscow and later became party cadre during the second period, but none of these attained much stature. The first period is without historical significance but does explain the lack of Communist activity between the two periods.

The second period began with UBICO's overthrow in the Revolution of 1944, the work of all middle class elements, but mainly led by young ladino "intellectuals" of the lower middle class, among whom were "Marrist Nationalists," later to be the Communist leaders. There is little evidence of outside assistance to the revolution, but following its successful conclusion there was an influx of Latin American (mostly Central American) cadre which gave early guidance to the young and inexperienced leaders, most of them in their twenties and early thirties.

In the beginning and in view of Article 32 of the new Constitution (1945), which forbade "political organizations of a foreign or international character," the cadres and cadres-to-be worked clandestinely within newly founded "mass" organizations, i.e., as "revolutionary politicians" within political parties or as "professional union men" within unions.

Three names worthy of historical note:

1. Jose Manuel FORTUNE---(new Secretary General of the present Communist Party) and his political group, later known as Octubre, concealed within the Partido Accion Revolucionaria (PAR);
2. Victor Manuel GUTIERREZ---and his labor group, later known as PROG, within the Confederacion de Trabajadores de Guatemala (CTG);
3. Manuel PINTO Usaga---an opportunistic Communist line labor leader.

1 A "mass" organization is one in which the individual's participation is segmental, both as to extent and quality; the mobilization is high, and the membership relatively unstructured save by formal devices of managerial control and emotional attachments to a centralized elite. (See Phillip Selznick, The Organizational Weapon, p. 286).

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Cadres guided the immediate founding and development of labor unions which UBICO had not permitted. The national CTG, founded in August, 1945, and immediately affiliated with the CTAL and WFTU, soon came and remained under Gutierrez' domination. Cadres quickly established (1945) a CTG indoctrination school called Escuela Claridad, ostensibly to train labor leaders. Escuela Claridad's Communist orientation split the CTG, several unions breaking off in January, 1946, to form the FSG, which PINTO Usaga then came to dominate. However, such overt Communist activities were soft pedaled as the Government moved to suppress them (1947) and publicly deny it was tolerating their existence, an attitude it consistently maintained until 1952.

The first formal Guatemalan CP was the clandestine Vanguardia Democrática, founded September 28, 1947, by Jose Manuel FORTUNY. Its cadre and membership were not definitely identified, its members continuing to function ostensibly as members of legitimate political parties and unions. This group held its first Party Congress on September 28, 1949, where it adopted the name of Partido Comunista de Guatemala (PCG). It was not until May, 1950, that FORTUNY and his Octubre group withdrew publicly from PAR. In the following month, they founded a weekly newspaper Octubre and the Jacobo SANCHEZ party cadre school as the frank precursor of an open Communist Party. Both the newspaper and the school were immediately closed for about three months by an overzealous Minister, Lt. Col. Elfege MONZON, but then reopened. At the same time, Victor Manuel GUTIERREZ publicly founded the Partido Revolucionario Obrero de Guatemala (PROG), a Communist-line labor party, drawn from the old Escuela Claridad sources and joined by members of the PINTO Usaga group. In April, 1951, FORTUNY began publicly signing documents as "Secretary General of the Partido Comunista de Guatemala". In June, 1951, the PCG held a public celebration of the first anniversary of Octubre and proclaimed its intention to become a legally registered party. In October, 1951, most of Guatemala's commercial and industrial labor unions (and a considerable number of farm workers' unions) were consolidated into the Confederacion General de Trabajadores de Guatemala (CGTG) with Gutierrez as Secretary General.¹ PINTO continued his Communist activities but lost stature, ending up as a Guatemalan Consul General in Mexico (1953). In January, 1952, following his return from a trip to Moscow, Gutierrez dissolved PROG and joined PCG which shortly thereafter achieved recognition in the Cominform Journal published in Bucharest. In December, 1952, the party held its Second Party Congress, changed its name to the Partido Guatemalteco del Trabajo (PGT) and was shortly thereafter entered on the Civil Registry as a legally constituted political party.

On August 15, 1953, Octubre gave way to a daily morning tabloid, Tribuna Popular. By this date the PGT had become an open

¹ The remainder of organized labor consists mostly of farm workers in Leonardo CASTILLO Flores' CNCG, which claims double the CGTG membership. The PGT dominates both organizations, although the CNCG enjoys more "freedom of action." CASTILLO himself falls under the non-party Communist classification, but has clashed with PGT leadership once or twice.

and major organization, exercising a disproportionate influence in the national life of Guatemala. FGT subordination to Moscow was clearly reflected in the many visits of Party leaders to the USSR capital and in the Tribuna Popular which follows the daily twists and turns of the current Soviet line.

Since its legalization, the FGT has been in an expanding stage aiming at a "mass" party. A tight little group of FORTUNE and four ex-Octubre members control the strategic posts in the party hierarchy but GUTIERREZ probably continues to control the CGTG.

The Partido Guatemalteco del Trabajo (PGT) today then is essentially a Communist elite of about one hundred persons consolidated in a Bolshevik party of some 1,500 to 2,000 membership,* (a Party member once claimed 3,000 in the summer of 1953), about 50 per cent urban and rural workers, 29 per cent small farmers and tenants, and 21 per cent middle class. Formal organization and hierarchy are given on page 5. The current (May, 1953) party platform is given on page 6.

"Mass" organizations created or controlled by the FGT include (October, 1953):

1. Confederacion General de Trabajadores de Guatemala (CGTG), claiming 104,000 members (August, 1953).¹

2. Confederacion Nacional Campesino de Guatemala (CNCG), claiming 215,000 members (1952).¹

3. Comite Nacional de la Paz (CNP), set itself a quota of 125,000 peace signatures (September, 1953).² List of officers in Attachment D.

4. Alianza de Juventud Democratica de Guatemala (AJDG).² Maximum estimate--500.

5. Frete Universitario Democratico (FUD).² List of officers in Attachment E. Maximum estimate--200.

6. Alianza Femenina Guatemalteca (AFG).² List of officers in Attachment F. Maximum estimate--500.

7. Confederacion de Estudiantes de Post-Primaria.² Maximum estimate--500.

8. Grupo Saker-Ti de Artistas y Escritores Jovenes (Saker-Ti). Maximum estimate--100.

*532 names of members were published in December, 1952, when the FGT was legalized. Names of certain prominent Communists such as V. M. Gutierrez were not included in the list, and a score of other members have since been identified in the press. List is set out in Attachment A.

1 Guatemalan Government labor statistics in 1953 gave 100,000 as the sum membership of the CGTG and the CNCG. While claimed figures are no doubt grossly exaggerated, there is some lag in compiling the statistics, so the minimum is quite possibly larger than 100,000.

2. Excluding the CGTG and the CNCG groups, the remaining "mass" organizations numbered between 15,000 and 20,000 members as estimated in August, 1952. No breakdown was found of this figure, but the CNP probably contained a large majority of the total.

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A considerable portion of the Communist strength lies outside the formal party. This includes non-party (PGT) Communists, foreign¹ and domestic²; the intellectual pro-Communists², and the crypto Communists. While these sectors probably do not number more than 500, it is their position and influence in and out of the governmental structure, that assists the PGT to exert strong influence and occasionally dominance over the Government. They are far more significant than the urban and rural, farm workers and tenants, types being drawn into the party as it expands its formal membership. These groups have concentrated in particular on the more important PGT targets, such as the Departamento Agrario Nacional (DAN--List of Officers in Attachment G).

- 1 Attachment B lists 26 who have been active.
- 2 Attachment G lists 41 who have been active.

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Sectional, District

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LOCAL

Secretary General of CC

Assembly

Committees

Secretariat

Secretary General (?)

assigned by Secretariat, heads Secretariat
and presides over PC & CC.

Party Congress
Secretary General (?)
Secretariat

meets annually or
often

elected by Assembly

elected by Committees

Committees

Assembly

"Basic Committee"

Secretaries

(call) all PRT members
must belong to one of
these.

Secretaries

"Basic Committee" (identified as of Oct, 53)

Octubre
Juan Pablo Mainright
Pedro Molina
Mao Tze Tung (suchetepequez)
Dmitri Shostakovich
Estrella Roja
Bandera Roja (Guatemala)
Dolores Ibaruri
Mamilliano Gorki
Georgi Dimitroff
Jose Marti
Francisco Marazan
Mariano Galvez
Tecun Uman
Decreto 900
Jose Manuel Fortuny
Espartaco (Jutiapa)
9 de Mayo
5 de Mayo (Retalhulea)
1 de Mayo (Alta Verapaz)
Enrique Munoz Meany (Chimaltenango)
(unidentified cell in Peten)

12 most developed departments
(of 22 total)

Guatemala
Alta Vera Paz
Santa Rosa
Suchitepequez
Retalhulea
Salala
Quezaltenango
Escuintla
Chiquimula
Isabal

**PCT ORGANIZATION (as of October, 1952, draft statutes)
AND HIERARCHY (October, 1953)**

| <u>Theoretical</u> | <u>Remarks</u> | <u>Actual (Oct, 53)</u> | <u>Remarks</u> |
|--|--|--|--|
| Party Congress | Normally meets tri-yearly. (Second Congress held Dec, 52) | Secretary General of CC Secretariat of CC | Jose Manuel Fortuny Jose Manuel Fortuny Bernardo Alvarado Monzon Alfredo Guerra Borges Mario Silva Jonama Jose Luis Ramos |
| Central Committee | 21 members (Oct, 53) elected by Party Congress, normally meets tri-monthly. | Political Committee | Jose Manuel Fortuny Bernardo Alvarado Monzon Alfredo Guerra Borges Mario Silva Jonama Jose Luis Ramos Jose Antonio Ardon Jose Alberto Cardoza Virgilio Guerra Mandez Victor Manuel Pellecar Duran Carlos Rene Valle y Valle |
| Political Committee (Standing Commissions) Organization Propaganda Education Peasants Women Latin America Finance Youth Labor Unions | | Central Committee Political Committee Standing Commissions Organization (key) Propaganda (key) Education (key) Peasants (key) Women Latin America Finance | Jose Manuel Fortuny Bernardo Alvarado Monzon Alfredo Guerra Borges Mario Silva Jonama Jose Luis Ramos Irma Chavez de Alvarado Monzon — Carlos Rene Valle y Valle |
| Political Committee | | | |
| Secretariat of CC | | | |

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NATIONAL

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Current Party Platform

The Domestic Program—Within the framework of advancing international Communism, the PG¹ has adopted a program in Guatemalan domestic affairs evidently calculated to disrupt the social and political structure and sever the links between Guatemala and the United States.

The current party domestic platform is embodied in a report by Fortuny approved by the Central Committee at its plenary session on May 16-17, 1953, and consists of seven points. These in the stated order of importance are:

1. "The application of agrarian Reform must be carried on.
2. "Intensify the fight against foreign monopolies and increase the anti-imperialist sentiment of our people," especially the United Fruit Company, the International Railways of Central America, and the Empresa Electrica power and light company.
3. "Denounce with greater insistence the counter revolutionary activities of feudal imperialist reaction."
4. "Give increasing support to progressive measures undertaken by the democratic Government of President Arbenz," such as the highway to the Atlantic which will allow Guatemala, by ~~compacting~~ with the U.S.-owned IRCA Railroad, to free itself from "monopolistic exploitation."
5. "Improve the living conditions of the masses," especially by struggling for a minimum daily rural wage of 80 cents and urban wage of \$1.25.
6. "Cultivate and strengthen organic unity and united action in the working class," by fighting against diversionism in labor organization.
7. "Tighten the alliance between the workers and peasants."

In its totality this program can be seen as a shrewd adaptation of current Guatemalan conditions to the requirement of the long-range objective of Communist world domination and the intermediate aim of separating Guatemala from the Western powers. The RGT's party literature and the speeches of its leaders continually emphasize that conditions are not ripe for the establishment of the "dictatorship of the proletariat," that is, the seizure of power by the Communists! Guatemala must first liquidate its "feudal" agricultural social system and pass through "bourgeois revolution" and "capitalist" phase before this evolution can take place. In party doctrine, the function of the Agrarian Reform is to accelerate these social changes and thus pave the way for the long-run triumph of Communism.

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As deduced from the observable record, major PGT and predecessor objectives, strategy, and tactics have included:

Objectives:

- Ultimate: a. be the vanguard in Guatemala of the grand strategy of world Communism;
- Long Range: b. to make Guatemala a Communist beachhead in semi-colonial Latin America;
- Long Range: c. to neutralize or destroy U. S. interests and influence in Guatemala;
- Long Range: d. to neutralize Guatemala as a member of the Western powers;
- Short Range: e. infiltrate and continually increase control and influence over the national life of Guatemala;
- Short Range: f. serve the current Soviet line.

Strategy:

1. Exploit political advantages inherent in the impact of modern technology on semi-colonial areas--symbolized as "La Revolucion."

a. Use the themes "La Revolucion" and "La Paz" as political glue to bind the masses together.

b. Identify selves with "La Revolucion" and as nationalists.

2. Under the theme "La Revolucion" cultivate a political climate which will allow the creation of a legal party and free access to the masses, mobilization of power therein, and consolidation of control.

a. Win time and space

operate clandestinely at first
avoid precipitateness
deceive foreign and domestic opinion
build infiltration, influence, and "mass" organizations
strengthen the theme "La Revolucion"

help consolidate and maintain the fledgling government at all costs

win merit in the eyes of public opinion
win friends among government leaders not part of their ranks
remove stumbling blocks by helping to discover "revolutionary plots," and exile or otherwise eliminate potential rivals for power

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emerge into the public only after success is assured.
continually deny Party is out to seize power,
quoting their ideology

b. Neutralize the Armed Forces

Influence selection of government leaders who are or can
be convinced that a CP is domestic and national.
Maintain good will and influence with these government
leaders and "sell" them on "La Revolucion"
Buy off, exile, or otherwise eliminate possible hostile
military leaders.
Keep hands off Guatemalan Army!

c. Disrupt and exploit disruption of the social and political structure.

Tactics:

1. Use of "mass" organizational weapons.
 - a. Standard peripheral groups such as youth, women, intellectual, etc.
 - b. Creation and/or penetration of government, civic, and political institutions.
concentrate on organizations peculiarly adapted to FGT targets and objectives, i.e., Agrarian Reform, "revolutionary political parties"
2. Construction of a "Revolutionary" (unspoken) and a "Peace" front.
3. Conspiratorial Methods
4. Agitation Propaganda methods
5. Bolshevik Party organizational methods and discipline.

Summary, Conclusion, and Recommendations

Striking an estimate of the FGT's weaknesses and strengths, the probability is one of further increases of Communist power in Guatemala.

1. Weaknesses:

- a. Degree of dependence on President Arbenz' good will and support and neutrality of the Armed Forces.
- b. Party is only recently in the "mass" Party stage and retains weakness of the "tight" party, i.e., leadership is still spread relatively thin.
- c. Imperfections of FGT internal organization, i.e., youthful leaders, dangers of internal dissension.
- d. The "Revolucion" theme might backfire in that opportunists may seize it.
- e. The emergence of the Communist movement into the open has produced the "sharpening of the class struggle," i.e., opposition.

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f. Tied to the Soviet Wheel.

2. Strengths:

- a. Has the initiative and has developed momentum.
- b. Virtual lack of organized opposition.
- c. The existing structure of influence and control, particularly the control of the Agrarian Reform.

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II. Other Government Parties

The Front is headed by Jaime DIAZ Remijnne as Secretary. The National Democratic Front is in the field of organized party politics, the Political Committee of the FGT exerts its indirect influence through the Fronte Democratico Nacional (The National Democratic Front, sometimes still called the Democratic Electoral Front), which is an alliance of all the parties supporting the Arbenz Administration. The Partido Accion Revolucionaria (PAR), the Partido de la Revolucion Guatemalteca (PRG), the Partido Renovacion Nacional (RN) and the Communist Partido Guatemalteco del Trabajo (PGT) itself. The Front holds 51 of the 56 seats in the Guatemalan Congress and virtually all Government jobs are filled with members of one or other of these parties. In the field of ideology and party programs, the FGT has established its ascendancy in the Front. The other parties, although labelling themselves "revolutionary," have found themselves since the 1944 Revolution handicapped by the fact that they produced no authentic native Guatemalan revolutionary ideology and have embarked on a period of social revolution without any navigational aids.

In October, 1952, the Communist Party formally entered the "Democratic Electoral Front" for the Congressional elections of January, 1953, and since then the party programs of the PAR, PRG, and RN have increasingly become replicas of the current line of the FGT Political Committee. They not only embody the Communist concepts of such programs as the Agrarian Reform, but are sprinkled with such terminology as the "struggle for peace," "foreign imperialists," "monopolist exploiters," etc.

The ascendancy of Communist ideology in the "National Democratic Front" is attributable not only to the void left by the failure of a non-Communist ideology to evolve, but also to an active factor, the infiltration into the PAR, PRG, and RN leadership of Communist sympathizers, some of whom may be secret members of the FGT.

The PAR is currently headed by Francisco Fernando FERNANDEZ Fonseca as Secretary General. He is one of Sr. Fortuny's ex-brothers-in-law and has closely followed the Communist line as have several other of the PAR's executive and Political Committees. In a debate in Congress on October 5, 1953, he was quoted as saying that the PAR was a transitory party destined to be dissolved in the "great world Communist party."

The PRG is headed by Augusto CHARNAUD MacDonald as Secretary General. Currently the Minister of the Interior, he is a shrewd non-Communist politician who has, nonetheless, collaborated closely with the Communists. On his Political Committee has Solorzano, Abel Guanca, and Roberto Alvarado Fuentes, all of whom are closely identified with promoting Communist objectives.

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The RN is headed by Jaime DIAZ Rozzotto as Secretary General. He is also Secretary General of President Arbenz' Executive Office (Secretario de la Presidencia). He was quoted in the Guatemalan press as stating on July 31, 1953, at a rally that the Korean Armistice "represented another step toward the achievement of a Socialist world," but he maintains, without definition of what he means, that he is "not a Communist."

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ANNEX A

PART I

ATTACHMENT A

Dispatch from Chief of Station, Guatemala, to Chief, WH, dated 3 January 1953, No. HGG-57. Subject: Registration of Partido Guatemalteco del Trabajo as a Legal Political Party.

1. As Headquarters is aware, the name of the Partido Comunista de Guatemala was changed to Partido Guatemalteco del Trabajo in the Second National Congress of the party held from 11-14 December 1952. On 20 December 1952 the Partido Guatemalteco del Trabajo was registered as a legal party with the Junta Nacional Electoral.

2. In compliance with the legal requirements that 500 persons support the registration of any political party, the Partido Guatemalteco del Trabajo furnished a list of more than 500 names. The anti-Communist newspaper La Hora published a list of names on 27 December 1952, and that list has been alphabetized and indexed in the files of the station. A copy of the list after having been alphabetized is attached.

3. According to the official organ of the Partido Guatemalteco del Trabajo, Octubre (without hammer and sickle), formerly the official organ of the Partido Comunista de Guatemala (with hammer and sickle), in its issue of 18 December 1952, the following officers of the new party have been named. Their titles are set forth in Spanish.

SECRETARIO GENERAL DEL COMITE CENTRAL: Jose Manuel FORTUNY.

COMISION POLITICA DEL COMITE CENTRAL: Jose Manuel FORTUNY, Bernardo ALVARADO Monzon, Antonio ARDON, Jose Alberto CARDOZA, Alfredo GUERRA Borges, Virgilio GUERRA, Victor Manuel GUTIERREZ, Carlos Manuel PELLEGER, Jose Luis RAMOS, Mario SILVA Jonama y Carlos Rene VALLE.

SECRETARIADO DEL COMITE CENTRAL: Jose Manuel FORTUNY, Bernardo ALVARADO Monzon, Alfredo GUERRA Borges, Mario SILVA Jonama y Jose Luis RAMOS.

DIRECTOR DEL PERIODICO "OCTUBRE": El Comite Central confirmo in este cargo al companero Alfredo GUERRA Borges.

RESPONSABLES DE LAS DIFERENTES COMISIONES: Responsable de la Comision de Organizacion, Bernardo ALVARADO Monzon; de la de Educacion, Mario SILVA Jonama; de la Sindical, Victor Manuel GUTIERREZ; de la Femenina, Irma CHAVEZ de Alvarado; de la Campesina, Jose Luis RAMOS; de la de Finanzas, Carlos Rene VALLE; de la de la Juventud, Huberto ALVARADO (interinamente); de la de PROPAGANDA, Alfredo GUERRA Borges, (interinamente).

Attachment: list of 500 names.

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LAS PERSONAS QUE APADRIÑARON LA INSCRIPCION DEL PARTIDO GUATEMALTECO DEL

TRABAJO

(formerly known as the PCO) Taken from LA HORA for 27 December 1952

ACOSTUÑO, Demebrío
ACOSTUÑO, Gaspar G.
ACUTERA, Julio Fausto
AGUILON Gomez, Fermín
AGUILON Ramirez, Marcelo
AIFAN, Antonio
AIFAN, Mauricio
AJIN, Soto, Pedro
ALBANEZ, Juan Antonio
ALCANTARA, Antonio
ALDANA, Jose
ALDANA, Juan
ALECHIA, Felicito
ALFARO, Benito
ALFARO, Lucas
ALFARO, Patrocínio
ALFARO, Pedro
ALONZO, Alejandro
ALVARADO Monzon, Bernardo
ALVARADO Ibarra, Blanca de
ALVARADO, Carlos Raul
ALVARADO, Huberto
ALVARADO, Irma Chavez de
ALVAREZ, Calixto
ALVAREZ, Guillermo R.
ALVAREZ, Jose Luis

ALVAREZ, Manuel de Jesus
ALVAREZ Alvarez, Porfirio
ALVAREZ Hernandez, Victoria
AMADO Alvarado, Juan
ANLEU, Garcia, Oswaldo
ARACON Solis, Demetrio
ARAGON Leon, Jesus
ARDIAN, Marselo
ARDON, Jose Antonio
ARGUETA, Gabriel
ARGUETA Ruiz, Rudolfo
ARREVILLAGA, Eugenio
ARREVILLAGA, Juan Jose
AVILA Gaitan, Gregorio
AVILA, Miguel Angel
AVILES M., Juan
AZANON, Irene
BAEZA, Benjamin
BAEZA, Herlindo
BAMACA, Telesforo R.
BARAHONA, Mariana
BARILLAS Duarte, Alberto
BARILLAS, German
BARRIOS, Daniel
BARRIOS, J. Francisco
de BARRIOS Laparra, Lisandro E.
PARTOLON Chilel, Felipe
PATRES Contreras, Salvador
BAUTISTA Guerra, Juan

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BENITES, Moises
BLANCO, Marco Antonio
BORGAS, Julian
BRAN Bobadilla, Pedro Indalecio
BRAN Maldonado, Roberto
BUCH Cujucuy, Daniel
CAERERA, Fermin
CAERERA, Justo
CACES, Carlos
CALLEJAS, Enrique Jaime
CALLEJAS, Vicente
CAMARCO, Octavio
CANIZALES, Cosme
CARDONA ., Casimiro
CARDONA Perez, Longino
CARDONA Marroquin, Lorenzo
CARDOZA, Jose Alberto
CARLAS Hernandez, Pedro
CARRILLO Hernandez, Emiliano
CARRILLO, Manuel de J.
CARRILLO, Oscar Julio
CASTELLANOS Sosa, Celso
CASTELLANOS Azanon, Eulalia
CASTELLANOS, Ines F. de
CASTELLANOS, Javier
CASTELLANOS, Paul
CASTELLANOS, Susana A.
CASTELLO, Fidel
CASTELLO Lara, Julio

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- 4 -

CASTRO, Antonio
CASTRO, Florencio
CASTRO R., Floresmila
CASTRO, Miguel
CENTENO, Carlos Enrique
CETINO, Juan
CIPRIANO Sitalan, Virgilio
COLINDRES, Julio C.
COLINDRES, Marcelino
CONTRERAS, Jose Luis
CONTRERAS, RUPERTO
CORADO, Candelario
CORDON, Moises
CORDON y Cordon, Wenceslao
COROY, Gregorio
COTY Torres, Fermin
CRUZ, Alfonso
CRUZ, Aparicio
CRUZ, Candido de la
CRUZ Grijalba, Enoc
CRUZ, Felipe B.
CRUZ, Guillermo
CRUZ, Manuel de Jesus de la
CRUZ, Miguel de la
CRUZ, Victoriano
CUPERTINO Escalante, Jose (Correct patronymic may be ESCALANTE)
CHACHE, Hilario
CHAPETON Sotoy, Justo
CHAVEZ Castillo, Gloria Elena

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CHENET, Cardona, Marcelino

CHINCHILLA, Amador, Mateo

CHORRO, Caballero, David

CHUN, Perez, Anselmo

DANIEL, Clementino

DAVILA, Jose Alejandro

DIAZ, Jose Antonio

DOMINGUEZ de Flores, Ventura

DOROTEO, Ruperto

DULCE, Juan

DUQUE, Herminio

ELIAS, Dionicio

ELIAS, J., Juan

ENRIQUEZ, Juan

ESCALANTE, Jose Cupertino

ESCALANTE, Miguel

ESCALANTE, Victor

ESCOBAR, Benigno

ESCOBAR, M., Emilio

ESQUIVEL, Brigido

ESTRADA, Lopez, Jesus

ESTRADA, Nazario

FEQUECON, Margarito

FERNANDEZ Monterroso, Augusto

FERNANDEZ Palacios, Pedro

FIGUEROA, Alejandro

FIGUEROA, Carlos Alberto

FLORES Arana, Candido

FLORES, Heriberto

FLORES Dominguez, Jose Antonio

FLORES, Pedro

FLORES, Raymunda

FLORES, Ventura Dominguez de

FORTUNY, Jose Manuel

FRANCO, Pantaleon

FUESTES, Cecilio

GABRIEL, Miguel A.

GAITAN, Alejandro de J.

GAITAN, Jose

GAITAN, Pedro Adolpho

GALIANO, Manuel de Jesus

GALICIA, Emilio

GALVEZ, Leonardo

GAMBOA, Balentino

GAMBOA Bamaca, Pedro

GARCIA, Alfonso

GARCIA, Anacleto

GARCIA, Arturo

GARCIA, Carlos

GARCIA, Cayetano

GARCIA, Cleofas

GARCIA, Doroteo

GARCIA Dios, Francisco

GARCIA Pineda, Javier

GARCIA, Jesus

GARCIA, Pedro

GARCIA Chinchilla, Pedro

GARCIA Petronilo

GARCIA, Reginaldo
GARCIA, Venvenuto
GIL Hernandez, Luz
IRON, J. Victor (y Giron)
IRON, Juan Eugenio
GOMEZ Perez, Arturo
GOMEZ Oscal, Fabian
GOMEZ Chavez, Felix
GOMEZ, Jose Maria
GOMEZ, Lazaro
GOMEZ, Rodrigo
GOMEZ, Simeon
GONZALEZ, Alberto Jorge
GONZALEZ Chinchilla, Andres
GONZALEZ Cruz, Carlos
GONZALEZ Arriaga, Felix
GONZALEZ, Jose Victor
GONZALEZ, Manuel Lisandro
GONZALEZ Lopez, Nicolas
GONZALEZ, Ricardo
CORDILLO DE Leon, Julio
GOZALVO, Federico
GudIEL, Jose Luis
GUERRA Borges, Alfredo
GUERRA Borges, Elsa de
GUERRA, Evaristo
GUERRA, Jose Marcos
GUERRA de Alvarez, Margarita
GUERRA, Mario Roberto

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GUSTAVO O., J.
GUTIERREZ Lopez, Raymundo
GUTIERREZ Orozco, Sixto V.
GUZMAN, Carlos
GUZMAN, Crotacio
GUZMAN, Juan Clemente
GUZMAN, Protacio
GUZMAN, Ramon
GUZMAN, Silverio
HERNANDEZ, Aquilino
HERNANDEZ, Bruno
HERNANDEZ, Carlos
HERNANDEZ, Carlos Cecilio
HERNANDEZ, Emiliano
HERNANDEZ, Fidel
HERNANDEZ Valladares, Francisco
HERNANDEZ, Jose Enrique
HERNANDEZ, Jose Leopoldo
HERNANDEZ, Juan Hipolito
HERNANDEZ, Matias
HERNANDEZ, Mauricio
HERNANDEZ, Maximo
HERNANDEZ, Modesto
HERNANDEZ, Sotero
HOUSSE, Herbert Walter (see Herbert Walter H.)
HURTARTE Alvarado, Rigoberto
INESTROZA, Roman
ISACOF, Gabino
JACONE, Cupertino

JIMENEZ G., Andres
JIMENEZ Mendez, Antonio
JIMENEZ R. Basilio
JIMENEZ, Eleuterio
JIMENEZ Elias, Reyes
JUAREZ, Arnulfo
JUAREZ, Juana de
JUAREZ Paz, Juan de Dios
LAPARRA Barrios, Alberto
LEMOR, Eustaquio
LEMOR, Hilario
LEMUS, Bernardo
LEMUS, Cesareo
LEMUS, Eduardo
LEMUS, Lorenzo de J.
LEON Aguillon, Gregorio de
LEON, Lorenzo de
LEON, Pedro Daniel de
LEON, Pedro de
LEON, Raymundo de
LEON, Victor de
LETONA, Carlos H.
LETONA, Casimiro
LIMA, Vicente
LOPEZ Sandoval, Ambrosio
LOPEZ Agustin, Angel
LOPEZ, Bernardo
LOPEZ, Carlos H.
LOPEZ G., Cleotilde de

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- 10 -

LOPEZ, Daniel
LOPEZ Aguilon, Esteban
LOPEZ Aguilon, Francisco
LOPEZ Navarro, Jorge
LOPEZ, Luis
LOPEZ Esteban, Manuel
LOPEZ, Manuel de Jesus
LOPEZ, Margarito
LOPEZ Sandoval, Roberto
LOPEZ Hernandez, Rogelio
LOPEZ Matul, Sabino
LOPEZ, Sara
LOPEZ, Aguilar, Teodoro
LOPEZ, Tranquilino
LOPEZ, Ubaldo (Lopez Dominguez)
LOPEZ Aguilon, Valentin
LLELA, Joaquin
MACAJOLA, Abraham
MACAJOLA, Antonio
MACAJOLA Covhin, German
MACAJOLA, Juan
MACAJOLA Morales, Mardos
MAGANA, Genaro
MAMAQUE Dominguez, Serapio
MARIN Coyoy, Maria
MARROQUIN Bobadilla, Alberto
MARROQUIN, Augusto
MARROQUIN, Carlos
MARROQUIN del Cid, Eulogio

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- 11 -

MARROQUIN Chibi, Felix
MARROQUIN, Juan C.
MARTINEZ, Antonio
MARTINEZ, Benito
MARTINEZ Guillen, Felipe
MARTINEZ A., Francisco
MARTINEZ, Marta
MARTINEZ, Pedro
MATIN, Gabino
MAZARIEGOS Lopez, Balustio
MAZARIEGOS, Jesus
MAZARIEGOS Morales, Manuel
MAZARIEGOS G., A. Rafael
MEJIA, Anselmo
MEJIA, Gregorio
MEJIA, Nicolas
MEJICANOS Calvez, Rodolfo
MELGAR, Mario
MELGAR Luna, Tereso
MENDEZ, Alejandro
MENDEZ Chavez, Catarino
MENDOZA, Eduardo
MENDEZ, Florencio
MENDEZ, Francisco
MENDEZ, Jose Isaias
MENDEZ, Rafael
MENENDEZ, Israel
MENENDEZ Ventura, Teofilo
MENTEL M., Antonio

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- 12 -

MIJANGOS, Arnulfo
MIJANGOS, Eulalio
MIJANGOS, Jose Antonio
MOISES, Domingo
MOLINA, Antonio
MONROY, Casimiro
MONROY E., Juan
MONTERROSO, Desiderio
MONTES, Cruz
MONZON, Rafael
MONZUT, Gregorio
MORALES Figueroa, Alfredo
MORALES H., Carlos
MORALES Vallos, Gertrudis
MORALES, Juan Felix
MORALES Chua, Luis
MORALES, Maximiliano
MORALES, Octaviano
MORALES Solorzano, Pablo
MORENTE Osorio, Florencio
MUNOZ, Arturo
MUNOZ, Benito
MUNOZ, Eulogio
MUNOZ, Gilberto
MUNOZ Rodriguez, Salomon
MURAILLES del Cid, Abelino
MURAILLES Del Cid, Laro
NAJERA, Felipe
NAVARRETE, Carlos

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- 13 -

NICAN, Cecilio Pablo
NIS Lopez, Nicolas
NUNEZ, Manuel F.
OBREGON, Jorge
OGEDA Rodriguez, Hugo Rene
OLIVARES Guzman, Alberto
OLIVEROS, Salvador
ORDONEZ, Agustin
ORDONEZ, Maria Elisa
ORELLANA, Cesar Augusto
ORELLANA, Oscar Gregorio
OROZCO V., Carlos
ORTEGA, Benjamin
ORTEGA, Roberto
ORTEGA, Rosalio
ORTIZ, Ignacio Humberto
ORTIZ Prado, Jose
OSCAL, Desiderio
OSORIO C., Eulogio
OSORIO Lopez, Eusebio
OSORIO, Pedro
OSORIO, Ventura
OVANDO Sanchez, Antonia
PADILLA, Manuel de J.
PALMA, Jose Luis
PAN, Crisanto
PAREDES Farfan, Santos
PASAS, Manuel
PAZ Gil, Daniel

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PELEN, Jose
PELLECER, Carlos Manuel
PEMIO Velasquez, Benito
PENA Quintanilla, Jose
PENA, Roberto de la
PEREZ Salvador, Basilio
PEREZ, Bonifacio
PEREZ Garcia, Bonifacio
PEREZ Salvador, Eusebio
PEREZ Chiche, Ezekiel (Ezequiel)
PEREZ, Fidel
PEREZ, Filiberto
PEREZ, Ignacio
PEREZ, Jose Emilio
PEREZ Osorio, Juan Alberto
PEREZ, Juventino
PEREZ, Maximiliano
PEREZ Barrios, Miguel
Perez, Ricardo
PERNILLO, Basilia
PERNILLO, Tomas Adrian
PINEDA, Ezequiel
PINEDA, Humberto
PINEDA, Indalecio
PINEDA, Luis Arturo
PINEDA, Oscar
PINZON M., Jorge
PINZON, Jose Humberto
PLEITEZ, Jose Antonio

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- 15 -

POLANGO, Melecio
PORRAS, Max Leon
QUEZADA, Pedro
QUINONEZ, Adrian
RAMIREZ, Adan Arnoldo
RAMIREZ, Eleuterio
RAMIREZ, Enrique Locario
RAMIREZy Ramirez, Felix
RAMIREZ, Florentin
RAMIREZ, Gabriel
RAMIREZ, Herlindo
RAMIREZ, José Domingo
RAMIREZ, Lucas Nemegio
RAMIREZ, Manuel de Jesus
RAMIREZ Lopez, Nicolas
RAMIREZ Romero, Pedro
RAMOS Chocon, Bernardo
RAMOS, Jose Luis
RAMOS Ibanez, Florentin
RAMOS Ibanez, Pablo
REAL Sanchez, Timoteo
REYES Maas, Efrain
REYES, Jose
REYES Urrutia, Juan
REYES, Lucas
REYES Ortiz, Octavio
REYNA Sanchez, Alfonso
RIVAS, Esteban
RIVAS, Gumeriendo

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- 16 -

RIVAS, Jose Luis
RIVAS, Juan de
RIVAS Gomez, Miguel
RODAS, Jose
RODRIGUEZ, Eugenio
RODRIGUEZ, Pablo, y Jacobo
ROJAS, Buenaventura
ROJAS, Lima, Ramiro
ROLDAN Barillas, Benigno
ROQUE F., Teofilo
ROSALIS, Jose Luis
ROSALES, Pedro
RUIZ, Valdomero
SACASTUME, Hector David
SALAM, Daniel
SALAS, Arturo
SALAZAR RODRIGUEZ, Arnulfo
SALAZAR, Oscar Antonio
SALAZAR Garcia, Maximiliano
SALGUERO, Jose Salvador
SALGUERO, Manuel
SAMAYOA Saguero, Rene
SANCHEZ Solis, Florentin
SANCHEZ, Mardoqueo
SANCHEZ, Narciso
SANCHEZ, Pablo
SANDOVAL, Teofilo de J.
SANTA ELEL Meza, Fabien
SANTA Ana Cruz, Santiago

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- 18 -

TOBAR, Juan
TOJES, Valeriano
TOLEDO, Pedro Gregorio
TORRES, Gertrudis
TORRES Perez, Ruperto
TREP J., José Miguel
TRUJILLO, Cenaro
UBEL Comez, E.
VALENZUELA, Atala
VALLE, Carlos Rene
VALLE G., Joaquin A.
VALLE, Rigoberto
VARGAS, Florentino
VASQUEZ, Angel
VASQUEZ, Eduardo
VASQUEZ, Isidro
VASQUEZ, Jose Maria
VASQUEZ, Juan
VASQUEZ, Patricio
VEGA, Nicolas
VELASQUEZ, Emilia
VELASQUEZ O., Julian
VENTURA, Marcos
VETORAZZI, Juan Rafael
VIDAL Machorro, Gregorio
VILLAGRAN Mota, Maria Luisa
VILLATORO, Jorge
VILLAVICENCIO, Jorge
WALTER Housse, Herbert

YAGUCHI, Paulino

YIP-CHU, YEE-VOH-SHAI, Secao

YOC, Chanderi

YOC, Ramon, Seco, Seco

YOC, Ramon, Seco

YOC, Ramon, Seco

YON, Quet, Seco

ZAMORA, Eduardo

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ANNEX A

PART I

ATTACHMENT D

Despatch No. 308 from American Embassy, Guatemala, to Department of State, dated 9 October 1953. Subject: Basic Study on the Guatemalan Labor (Communist) Party (FGT).

OFFICERS OF
NATIONAL PEACE COMMITTEE
Elected June 14, 1952

| | |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Antonio CRUZ Franco | President |
| Luis CARDOZA y Aragon | Vice President |
| Victor Manuel GUTIERREZ ¹ | Vice President |
| Marco Antonio FRANCO | Vice President |
| Elena de BARRIOS Klee ² | Vice President |
| Leonardo CASTILLO Flores | Vice President |
| Mario SILVA Jonama ¹ | Secretary General |
| Marco Antonio BLANCO ¹ | Secretary of Organization |
| Oscar Edmundo PALMA ¹ | Secretary of Propaganda |
| Raul LEIVA | Secretary of Press |
| Atala VALENZUELA ¹ | Secretary of Finance |
| Carlos ALVARADO Jerez ³ | Secretary of (Foreign) Relations |
| Julio Ernesto JUAREZ | Secretary of Minutes |

- 1 Members of the Communist Partido Guatemalteco del Trabajo
- 2 Wife of Waldemar Barrios Klee, a FGT member
- 3 Avowed "Communist," though not specifically as a member of the FGT.

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ANNEX A

PART I

ATTACHMENT E

Despatch No. 308 from American Embassy, Guatemala, to Department of State, dated 9 October 1953. Subject: Basic Study on the Guatemalan Labor (Communist) Party (PGT).

OFFICERS OF
FRENTE DEMOCRATICO UNIVERSITARIO (FUD)
(January 22, 1953)

| | |
|---|----------------------------|
| Augusto CALAZI Avila ¹ | Secretary General |
| Julio Rene ESTEVEZ Rodriguez ¹ | Secretary for Organization |
| Hector Simon CARRERA Guzman | Secretary for Propaganda |
| Luis F. REINA Rosal | Secretary for Finances |
| Carlos MENENDEZ | Secretary for Records |

- 1 Visited "Peoples" Democracies of Eastern Europe in 1952 and 1953 respectively.

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ANNEX A

PART I

ATTACHMENT F

Despatch No. 308 from American Embassy, Guatemala, to Department of State, dated 9 October 1953. Subject: Basic Study on the Guatemalan Labor (Communist) Party (FGT).

OFFICERS OF
ALIANZA FEMENINA GUATEMALTECA (AFG)
(August 1953)

| | |
|---|--|
| Dora FRANCO y Franco | Secretary General |
| Esther de URRUTIA | Vice Secretary General |
| Irma Chavez Castillo de ALVARADO ¹ | Secretary of Organization |
| Lily de ALVARADO | Secretary of Propaganda |
| Carmen MORAN | Secretary of Children's Affairs |
| Victoria MORAGA | Secretary of Culture |
| Maria CASTILLO | Secretary of Workers' and Peasants' Affairs |
| Laura de PINEDA | Secretary of Arts |
| Chony de SOLARZANO | Secretary of Legal & Social Affairs |
| Maria Jerez de FORTUNY ² | Secretary of Finances |

1 Head of Women's Commission of Partido Guatemalteco del Trabajo (FGT); wife of Bernardo Alvarado Monzon, FGT Secretary for Organization.

2 Wife of Jose Manuel Fortuny, FGT Secretary General.

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ANNEX A

PART I

ATTACHMENT G

Despatch No. 308 from American Embassy, Guatemala, to Department of State, dated 9 October 1953. Subject: Basic Study on the Guatemalan Labor (Communist) Party (PCT).

APPENDIX IV

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE NATIONAL AGRARIAN DEPARTMENT

(September 1953)

A. Employees Publicly Registered or Publicly Avowed Members of PCT:

1. Waldemar BARRIOS Klee, Chief of Lands Section, Acting Chief of the Department when the Chief is away
2. Natzul AGUIRRE Cook, Inspector
3. Marco Antonio BLANCO, Inspector
4. Florencio MENDEZ, Inspector
5. Juan Rafael VINCIGRAZZI, Inspector
6. Rafael TISCHLER, delegate of the Department to the Directorate General of Fundamental Education
7. Eugenio ARRIVILLAGA Veliz, Credentials Officer, Secretariat of the Department
8. Roberto BRAN Maldonado, Registrar, Legal Office of the Department
9. Jorge VILLAVIGENCIO Marroquin, Survey Chairman (Cadenero), Measurements and Calculations Section.
10. Eduardo SOSA Montalvo, Computer, Measurements and Calculations Section.

NOTE: All but two of the forenamed appeared on the list of PCT members submitted by that party to the Civil Registrar in December 1952 and published in La Hora of December 27, 1952. The two exceptions are Natzul Aguirre Cook who avowed PCT membership in a press interview and Waldemar Barrios Klee who was stated in a press release by the PAR to be a PCT member.

B. Probable PCT Members:

1. Maria Jerez de FORTUNY, Secretary General of the Department, wife of Jose Manuel Fortuny, Secretary General of the PCT and in her own right Secretary for Finance of the Alianza Femenina de Guatemala (AFG).

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2. Augusto CALAZI A., clerk in the Legal Office of the Department, Secretary General of the Fronte Democratico Universitario (FUD), visitor to and eulogist of Rumania, Bulgaria in 1952.
3. Mario SOSA, Chief Inspector of the Department, stated to be a PGT member in the September 8, 1953 El Espectador, did not deny it; a Honduran who has been involved in Communist-line activities
4. Justo Rufino ARGUETA, Inspector, stated to be a PGT member in the September 8, 1953 El Espectador; Vice Secretary of Finance of the CGTG
5. Ruben CASTELLANOS, Inspector; Secretary General of the Departmental PAR organization in San Marcos (1952); left PAR Political Committee 1953; denounced by an acquaintance as a Communist as far back as 1950
6. Roberto CABRERA, Inspector, stated to be a PGT member in El Espectador September 8, 1953; member of the STEG teachers' union and SAKER--TI intellectuals' group
7. Victor GIRON Cabrera, Inspector; stated to be a PGT member in El Espectador September 8, 1953; formerly Secretary General of the Departmental RN organization in El Quiche
8. Claudio MIRANDA, Inspector; described as a Cuban and stated to be a PGT member in El Espectador September 8, 1952
9. Luis ROZZO, Inspector; stated to be a PGT member in El Espectador, September 8, 1953
10. Roberto GAITAN, Inspector; stated to be a PGT member in El Espectador, September 8, 1953

C. Possible Communists:

1. Jorge ALVARADO Monzon, Inspector; brother of Bernardo Alvarado Monzon, Secretary for Organization of the PGT
2. Luis Felipe LOPEZ Martinez, urban expert, Office of Dwellings and Public Services of the Department; possibly identical with "Luis Lopez" who was registered as a PGT member in that party's petition to the Civil Registrar in December 1952
3. Jose Felix REYES Arriola, topographer, Office of Dwellings and Public Services of the Department; possibly identical with "Jose Reyes" appearing on the above-mentioned list.

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ANNEX A

PART II

A. GUATEMALA

ENEMY INTELLIGENCE ASSETS IN GUATEMALA

1. Mission

Available information would tend to indicate that the enemy intelligence services extant in Guatemala probably dedicate their principal efforts to investigating and combatting the efforts of dissident Guatemalan elements within and without Guatemala. There is also evidence that the Guatemalan intelligence service is aware of and investigating foreign-based and supported efforts to overthrow the government. President Arbenz has remarked to former U.S. Ambassador Schoenfeld that he knows who is trying to overthrow him and who is behind it. On 30 November 1953 Ambassador Torello charged in the UN that the United Fruit Co. and members of the State Department were preparing an intervention in Guatemala.

2. Targets

We have no definite information concerning the targets of the Guatemalan intelligence service.

3. Personnel

We have no information concerning the personnel utilized by the Guatemalan intelligence service in Guatemala, nor do we know anything concerning the number, efficiency, capabilities, or distribution of the nets operated by Guatemalan intelligence.

4. Cover

It is known that the Guatemalan government maintains both civilian and military intelligence services but nothing is known concerning the cover utilized by agents or by case officers, etc.

5. Security

Since nothing is known concerning the Guatemalan intelligence service, nothing can be said concerning security aspect. It is assumed, however, that the Guatemalan government must spend large sums in maintaining an effective intelligence service and it is also assumed that the communists maintain an intelligence service of their own which probably, in some cases and on unknown levels, cooperate with or oppose the activities of the Guatemalan intelligence service as the case may be. However, nothing definite is known concerning this.

6. Contact and Communications

Nothing at all is known concerning contact, communications procedures, facilities or difficulties.

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7. Control and Motivation

It is considered probable that the prime motivation of the members of the Guatemalan intelligence service is monetary and that control is probably monetary and patriotic but backed by the force of the law. Communists may be employed in the Guatemalan intelligence service as well as in the purely communist intelligence network which is assumed to exist and, in such case, motivation will also be along ideological lines.

8. Equipment

Nothing at all is known concerning the equipment used. It is assumed that mail censorship exists and probably is directed particularly against mail from bordering countries rather than from the U.S.

9. Coordination

As previously stated, it is considered probable that the Guatemalan intelligence services receive support from the Communist Party of Guatemala but the extent and nature of this cooperation or aid is not known.

10. Time Table

Nothing can be said concerning the effect of delay with respect to the FI operations of the Guatemalan intelligence service in Guatemala or in other countries.

11. Finances

Nothing is known concerning the amounts or mode of payment of the Guatemalan intelligence service.

12. Special Problems

Nothing is known.

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ANNEX A

PART II

B. HONDURAS

ENEMY INTELLIGENCE ASSETS IN HONDURAS

1. Personnel

The principal agent for the Guatemalan government intelligence structure in Honduras is the military attache in the Guatemalan embassy in Tegucigalpa, Col. Luis MORALES. As far as could be ascertained MORALES has no organized intelligence network, but relies primarily on paid informants, gossip, and on a certain amount of surveillance in Tegucigalpa, San Pedro Sula, and several other cities throughout Honduras. Little information is available on agents operating outside of Tegucigalpa, but information as was obtained on individual agents from SETTLER and several other of Rufus' sources in Honduras is submitted.

- a. A barber, name unknown, who has a small shop on the ground floor of the Hotel de las Americas.
- b. ROSALES, fnu.
- c. VALDES, fnu, has a photography shop in Comayaguala. It has ~~not~~ been definitely proved that this individual is employed by MORALES, but his actions have been suspect for some time.
- d. Jesus SOSA, Honduran businessman, who is an immigrant in Guatemala during the Carrillas regime. This individual has been seen on several occasions talking with MORALES and also has been observed entering and leaving the Guatemalan embassy. Individual has also made trips to San Salvador and Guatemala.
- e. MENDOZA, fnu, Nicaraguan businessman, resident of Tegucigalpa, good friend of P. MOREIRA, Guatemalan consul in Tegucigalpa. No definite proof that he is a Guatemalan agent, however he has been seen entering and leaving the Guatemalan embassy. Individual also is engaged in selling clandestinely Guatemalan lottery tickets which he pays off with funds received from the Guatemalan embassy. No definite proof that individual is a Guatemalan government agent, however he dresses very well, travels, has no debts, and his general appearance would indicate that he is living above his legitimate income.
- f. Francisco MURIO Selva, Honduran lawyer, residing in Tegucigalpa, sympathetic with present Guatemalan government, previously was the agent in Tegucigalpa for "La Nacion."

In addition to the agents employed directly by the government of Guatemala and operating with the embassy, the PGT, the Guatemalan CP, has sent agents to Tegucigalpa and other cities in Honduras on

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specific missions. These agents report directly back to PGT Headquarters and have been engaged generally in surveilling Rufus' organization and other elements in Honduras unsympathetic to the government. (Reports on these agents can be found in the PC-1 files.) These agents usually enter Honduras clandestinely over the El Salvador frontier and then to Honduras.

There was no evidence in Tegucigalpa of any Soviet controlled espionage services. However, one name came up in conversations with SETTLER which might bear investigation. The commercial attache in the Argentine embassy in Tegucigalpa, LENGUINAS, fnu, is suspected of handling Communist propaganda which he allegedly receives through the diplomatic pouch.

2. Efficiency

The general efficiency level of Guatemalan intelligence services in Honduras is judged to be fairly low. As stated before, most of the information gathering is done by eavesdropping, chance conversations, and general information that agents are able to pick up from their contacts in the city. The surveillance functions performed by these groups have been extremely amateurish. Most surveillances consist of one man teams assigned to surveil persons entering and leaving a certain building, and only on very rare occasions have they done any mobile surveillance. Effective counter-surveillance is obtained in most cases by merely confronting the tail face to face, embarrassing him, and forcing him to give up the chase.

3. Technical Equipment

There is no indication that the Guatemalan government uses any technical equipment either in the field of communications or surveillance.

4. Security

There is almost no cover between agents and the embassy. Individual agent cover is usually that of a traveling salesman or a small shop keeper. No information is available at this time on physical security measures in the Guatemalan embassy or in any of the Communist Party installations.

5. Control

Principal control over agents seems to be financial, and in some cases this can and has been nullified for the purpose of doubling the agent. There are also some indications that threats against members of the family have been used for purposes of control.

6. Motivation

Primary motivation again is either financial or the basic Latin desire for intrigues.

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7. Finance

MORALES reportedly receives 800 quetzals per month to maintain the intelligence services, but according to informed sources, a good deal of it never reaches the agents.

8. Communist Party Activities in Honduras

Information on Communist Party Activities in Honduras is very sketchy at this stage, but some information has been furnished by an individual who the Rufus organization has placed in the Communist student group in Honduras. This information has not been checked or evaluated, but the following names came to light during LUGTON's recent trip. Oscar MOCADA, purportedly head of the student Communist group in Honduras; individual's whereabouts have not been ascertained, but the possibility exists that he may have gone to Guatemala.

Jose Adalberto GUSTODIO, student of accounting in Tegucigalpa, sends letters to Alicia RAMOS, 7 Avenue, North, 152-B, Guatemala City, and uses a return address of Apartado 158, Tegucigalpa.

Pepe BATRES, fifth year law student in Tegucigalpa, works in the Banco de Fomento and studies nights. Father is believed to be employed by the Dept. Agrario Nacional in Guatemala. Father and son correspond regularly. The father sends him "Tribuna Popular."

Hugodoro AMAGA, fifth year law student, works in the Banco de Fomento, Tegucigalpa, studies nights.

Rene MENDEZ, tailor in Tegucigalpa, has written articles against the Honduran government in collaboration with AGUILUZ in the Guatemalan paper, "Nuestro Diario."

Arturo Alonso AVAREDO, newspaperman, writes stories in "El Cronista" on Guatemala slanted against United Fruit Company, has been entering and leaving the Guatemalan embassy.

Vayardo AGUILUZ, newspaperman, resident in Tegucigalpa for "El Machete," a Guatemalan supported newspaper circulated overtly in Honduras. This individual has been seen entering and leaving the Guatemalan embassy.

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ANNEX A

PART II

C. EL SALVADOR

ENEMY INTELLIGENCE ASSETS IN EL SALVADOR

1. Mission

There is no information which would indicate that the mission of the Guatemalan intelligence organization in El Salvador is primarily directed at the United States. It is primarily directed at Salvador but indubitably with a view toward influencing the attitude of El Salvador not only with respect to Guatemala but also with respect to the United States.

2. Targets

There is some reason to assume that the principal targets of Guatemalan intelligence in El Salvador are students, labor, and the Salvadoran government. However, this is mainly an assumption since little or no specific information is available.

3. Personnel

Nothing at all is known about the number, condition, or tasks of the Guatemalan nets which may exist in El Salvador.

4. Individuals

There seems to be some reason to assume that the head of Guatemalan intelligence activities in El Salvador is Major Rene VALENZUELA, the former Guatemalan Military Attache in Washington. VALENZUELA is a pilot but the Salvadoran government would not permit him to bring his own plane. He has three or four automobiles and a week-end house in the mountains. He seems to have an unlimited expense allowance. VALENZUELA is known to have loaned his automobiles to unidentified university students who, allegedly, were later seen visiting the San Carlos barracks in San Salvador. The Foreign Minister and the Chief of Police (of Salvador) told the individual, is the chief of the Guatemalan service and responsible for agent, sabotage, assassination, and all other Guatemalan intelligence activities in El Salvador. It is known that one Cesar OLIVIA was arrested for illegal entry into El Salvador from Guatemala and, when arrested, stated that he was employed by the Guatemalan Embassy. The Salvadoran government had no record of his being so employed and kept him under arrest despite Guatemalan efforts to have OLIVIA released. One FLORES MACALL, a Salvadoran student, was reported to visit the Guatemalan Embassy and to receive financial aid. Major Humberto VILLALBA, the Salvadoran Military Attache to Mexico City, has been reported to be in contact with members of the Soviet Embassy in Mexico. Miguel Angel VASQUEZ, who now operates a book store in Mexico City, is suspected of intelligence activities in El Salvador; apparently this suspicion is mainly based on the fact that he allegedly spent several years in the

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Soviet Union. Miguel Angel FLORES and Roberto CALVO Castenanos, both now in Guatemala, are suspected of intelligence connections with Ricardo MERAZO, Ana OCHOA, FLORES MACALL, and/or others in Guatemala. Certain unidentified women are said to act as couriers.

With the exception of VALENZUELA, concerning whom more than just suspicion exists, there seems to be little concrete evidence that the others named above are actually engaged in intelligence activities.

5. Cover

Nothing is known concerning the specific details of Guatemalan intelligence activities in El Salvador. However, and if VALENZUELA is the head of Guatemalan intelligence in El Salvador, it would appear that the Guatemalan Embassy is the primary source of cover.

6. Security

Security checks have been made on the majority of the individuals mentioned above but this has been to a great extent without avail.

There is no chance of doubling or infiltrating their organization until something concrete is learned about it.

It is not known whether or not there exists an internal CE within the Guatemalan intelligence organization in El Salvador.

The only thing known about physical security of leaders, homes, etc. is that the Guatemalan Embassy in El Salvador is guarded constantly by Salvadoran police and, in addition, is surrounded by open areas. No particular attention has ever been given to the possibility of penetration of the Guatemalan Embassy in El Salvador. ⁷ considered it impractical to attempt to make entry or to install technical equipment in the homes of those suspected of intelligence activities.

There is no evidence that the Guatemalan IS is spending large sums of money although Major VALENZUELA seems to have unlimited funds.

7. Contact and Communications

Nothing is known about this.

8. Control and Motivation

No information is available. It is assumed, however, that ardent Communists would collaborate because of their ideological beliefs.

Before we could attack the motivation of these agents, we would have to identify at least some of them and learn concerning their motivation.

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9. Equipment

Nothing definite is known about this point.

10. Coordination

Nothing is known about this.

11. Time Table

No information is presently available concerning this matter.

12. Finances

Nothing is known.

13. Special Problems

Nothing is known.

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ANNEX A

PART III

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ANNEX A

PART III

A. AGITPROP SECTION OF THE PGT

1. Comision de Propaganda del PGT
2. Background

Little is known about the early history of the PGT-PCG agit-prop section. The 10 man editorial staff of Octubre, the weekly news organ founded in June 1980, probably represented the then active agit-prop section of the Party. The editorial staff consisted of:

Jose Manuel FORTUNEY
Alfredo GUERRA Borges
Bernardo ALVARADO Monson
Jose Luis RAMOS
Jose Antonio ARDON
Mario Alfredo SILVA Jonama
Carlos Rene VALLE y Valle
Humberto ORTIZ
Pedro FERNANDEZ
Rogelio LOPEZ

With the legalisation of the PGT in December 1982, the Comision de Propaganda became the official agit-prop arm of the Party.

Current members of the Comision are not identified, except for Alfredo GUERRA Borges who is the temporary Secretary. Since Carlos Rene VALLE y Valle is listed on the masthead of Tribuna Popular, he is probably a member, as may be Mario Alfredo SILVA Jonama who organised the Party propaganda work on 9 January 1983. Other members of the original Octubre staff may also be assigned to the present commission.

The PGT propaganda program was outlined by Mario Alfredo SILVA Jonama on 9 January 1983:

- To give special attention to propaganda
- To provide an increased and stable budget
- To obtain rapid, efficient printing
- To get goods and adequate distribution
- To make use of radio propaganda and of organization discussions
- To make use of the entire Party in an organized propaganda effort

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3. Key Personnel

Alfredo GUERRA Borges
Carlos Rene VALLE y Valle (probably)
Mario Alfredo SILVA Jonama (probably)

These persons have been included in the PGT assessment.

4. Modus Operandi

- a. The method of preparation of material is not known. Observation of the TP indicates that staff writers are assigned to prepare material in certain fields, i.e., Ruberto ORTIZ, TP column Con el ojo en la mira, appears to deal with criticizing or replying to anti-Communist newspapers.
 - b. Printing of propaganda has been done at the Centro Editorial printing shop, where the pro-government daily tabloid Nuestro Diario (and formerly Octubre) is produced. Other small print shops have been reported as printing Communist propaganda. SILVA Jonama indicated in January 1953 that the Party had prepared and released some 350,000 octavillas (believed to be handbills) in two campaigns alone.
 - c. Distribution is by rank and file of the Party. Handbills were scattered on the streets or passed out by hand, and posters were put up by crews working at night or very early morning.
5. a. The themes in general reflect the current party line, whether it be support of the government or forwarding of the party objectives.
- b. The major themes are Agrarian Reform; "La Paz"; the cost of living; the National Front; and support of the government against intervention.
 - c. The style of presentation has varied from small 3" x 5" fliers to 2' x 3' posters in color. The PGT election campaign posters were well-done portraits in colors of the PGT candidates. These were presented in varied fashion, from posting on walls to elaborate four-sided box displays which were suspended from over-head power lines.
 - d. SILVA Jonama criticized the party propaganda activities on 9 January 1953. He conceded that the party was penetrating deeper into the mass consciousness, and had released a large amount of propaganda during the previous year. He listed bad points as follows:

Party leader propaganda was said to be scanty and the rank and file propaganda lacked momentum. For example, it allowed a great many "imperialist lies" to go unanswered and thereby lost ground.

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The quality of the propaganda was not always faithful to the Party line. It made excessive use of language ill-suited to the masses.

SILVA Jonama cited three questions for originators of propaganda:

To whom is it addressed?
In whose name is it issued?
What does it say?

He stated that an important element of agit-prop was to create an awareness of grievances; another was to bring problems to a head. He stressed a third necessity, that for clear and precise battle slogans.

6. a. The general group targets of PGT propaganda are the lower middle and lower classes.
 - b. Names of target audience: The usual propaganda effort is aimed broadcast at the public.
 - c. Agrarian Reform and the labor grievance propaganda get the best reception, and it is believed that the effect on these target audiences is considerable.
7. The propaganda effort is well coordinated, the TP playing the central role. The following publications are believed to play more or less supporting parts (1952):

| <u>Title</u> | <u>Type</u> | <u>Issued</u> | <u>By</u> |
|--|-------------|---------------|--|
| 1. Alegria | magazine | monthly | Guatemalan Ministry of Education |
| 2. Avance | newspaper | monthly | Instituto Nacional de Varones |
| 3. Boletin Mensual del Comité del STEG | magazine | monthly | STEG Union |
| 4. Camara | magazine | weekly | Francisco GALICIA Valle |
| 5. Diario de Centro America | newspaper | daily | official Guatemalan government |
| 6. Entre Broma y Broma | newspaper | weekly | Alfredo JUAREZ Aranda |
| 7. F. T. Q. | newspaper | monthly | Federacion de Trabajadores de Quetzaltenango |
| 8. Guatemala En Accion | magazine | sporadic | L. MARTINEZ D. and Rafael RODRIGUEZ C. |
| 9. Horizonte | magazine | monthly | Jaime DIAZ Rossetto and Gustavo VALCARGEL |
| 10. El Impulso | newspaper | bi-weekly | Hector FION Garma |
| 11. La Infancia Anormal | magazine | monthly | Dr. Amador PEREYRA |
| 12. Mujeres | magazine | monthly | Lily de ALVARADO |

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| <u>Title</u> | <u>Type</u> | <u>Issued</u> | <u>By</u> |
|---|-------------|-----------------|--|
| 13. El Nino | magazine | monthly | Sociedad Protectora del Nino |
| 14. Nuestra Lucha | newspaper | monthly | Mario R. CHAVEZ Garcia |
| 15. Nuestro Diario | newspaper | daily | Paulino OVALLE |
| 16. Octubre | magazine | bi-monthly | PGT |
| 17. P. A. N. | newspaper | bi-monthly | (no issues yet made) Comite Nacional de Alfabetizacion |
| 18. Por La Paz | newspaper | monthly | Otto Raul GONZALEZ |
| 19. Reflejos | newspaper | monthly | Angelina AGUIA |
| 20. Revista del Maestro | magazine | monthly | Marco DIAZ Iaparra |
| 21. SANF | newspaper | weekly | Rolando A. CALDERON B. |
| 22. UCPA | newspaper | monthly | Union Central de Pilotos Automovilistas Miguel Angel GARCIA Salas |
| 23. Vanguardia Estudiantil | newspaper | quarterly | Instituto Normal de Centro America |
| 24. Accion Campesina | newspaper | bi-monthly | CNCG |
| 25. Alianza | newspaper | monthly | AJDG |
| 26. Circuito Estudiantil | newspaper | weekly | University students |
| 27. Diario de la Manana | newspaper | daily (extinct) | RN, PAR, FPL |
| 28. Guatemala Por La Paz | newspaper | bi-weekly | Asamblea Nacional Por La Paz |
| 29. El Libertador | newspaper | sporadic | PAR |
| 30. Mensajes Sociales | newspaper | weekly | PS |
| 31. SIF (Servicio Informativo Frente Populista) | magazine | weekly | FPL |
| 32. Unidad | newspaper | weekly | CGTG |

Issuance of some of the above publications is many times uncertain and only the "mass" organization publications are under direct control of the Propaganda Commission.

8. Overt or Covert support of medium

- a. The Guatemalan Government is believed to support the PGT financially and the Party also collects dues from its members.

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ANNEX A

PART III

B. CGTG AND CNOG

CONFEDERACION GENERAL DE TRABAJADORES DE GUATEMALA

1. Historically, the labor movement in Guatemala began in July 1944. Prior to that date, UBIGO had permitted only controlled workingmen's national aid societies. Within a month of the June 1944 uprising, the schoolteachers' union (later STEG) was founded, followed by the railworkers' union (SAMF) and the country's first national labor federation, the CTG. The founding and carrying forward of the CTG was guided mostly by Central American communists who had performed similar tasks elsewhere. The CGT was affiliated from the early beginning with the CTAL and the WFTU.

These "advisors" quickly established an indoctrination school in the CTG called Escuela Claridad. This ostensibly was to train labor leaders, but its communist orientation alarmed the SAMF railroad union and certain other unions, which withdrew from the CTG to form the FSG in January 1946. Escuela Claridad was shut down by the Arevalo Administration in the same month.

With the withdrawal of SAMF, STEG, under Victor Manuel GUTIERREZ, remained as the most militant union in the CTG and came to dominate it, GUTIERREZ rapidly rising to the CTG Secretary-Generalship. It was not long before the Communists penetrated and recaptured the FSG, largely through the agency of Manuel PINTO Usaga, an opportunistic communist-line labor leader. By February 1947, a Comite Nacional de Unidad Sindical (CNU) was founded to coordinate the CTG and FSG actions, and by 1950 the FSG was affiliated with the WFTU and CTAL.

In October 1951, the CGTG was founded and is Guatemala's national labor federation today. The CGTG, with the exception of a very few independent unions, represents all organized industrial, transportation, and commercial labor and has a considerable number of agricultural workers' federations, including the important United Fruit Company union. The only other labor organization of comparable size is the CNOG, the farm workers' union. The CGTG affiliated with the WFTU and Vicente Lombardo TOLEDANO's CTAL in August 1952. To all intents and purposes CGTG leadership is completely under the control of the PGT Political Committee.

Numerically, the CGTG claimed a membership of 104,000 in August 1953. This figure is slightly exaggerated, according to the Guatemalan Ministry of Economy and Labor which reported in April 1953 that there were 100,000 unionized workers in the entire country. A list of 140 union and their officers as of October 1952 is in the PBSUCCESS file.

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2. Key Personnel

Project files list thirty-one key officers of the CGTG as of October 1962. Of these, Victor Manuel GUTIERREZ, Jose Alberto CARDONA, Jose Luis RAMOS, Antonio OVANDO Sanchez, Carlos Manuel PELLEGER, Natsul AGUIRRE Cook, Cesar MONTEAGRA, Maximiliano SALAZAR Garcia, and Florencio MENDEZ R. are PGT members. The first five of these have been treated in the CP assessment.

Of the remainder, the most prominent are Jose Luis CACEROS, Victor A. LEAL, Marco Antonio CUELLAR Loresana and Isaiah RUIZ Robles. Available information on these personalities remains to be assembled.

CONFEDERACION NACIONAL CAMPESINA DE GUATEMALTECO

The CNCG is the national federation of campesino organizations, that is, organizations of hired farm workers, of small tenant farmers, and of small farmers, most of whom in Guatemala are Indians. It claimed 218,000 members in 1962. Among farm laborers its activities overlap with those of the CGTG which is currently expanding its agricultural affiliates in connection with the Agrarian Reform Law. This has resulted in some organizational conflict and jealousies, none of which, however, have extended into the sphere of ideology. The CNCG's orientation has remained in harmony with the PGT Political Committee's program and, in September 1963, the CNCG was reported by the PGT newspaper Tribuna Popular to have requested affiliation with the WFTU and the CTAL, a report which has not yet been confirmed.

A good deal of the CNCG's Communist ideological orientation stems from its Secretary General, Leonardo CASTILLO Flores, a thirty-five-year-old (born on 25 November 1917) ladino schoolteacher. Although not a PGT member as far as is known, he is a Vice President of the National Peace Committee; was appointed a delegate to the abortive Continental Peace Congress in Montevideo in 1962 and a delegate to the WFTU's Third World Congress of Trade Unions in Vienna in October 1963; and has followed a far leftist line in his speeches. In July 1962 when FORTUNE attacked leaders of the PRG as "deviationists" he specifically excepted CASTILLO Flores and the latter soon thereafter withdrew his support from the PRG and CHARNAUD Mac Donald with whom the CNCG had formerly been closely politically allied. He pledged to devote himself entirely to support the "alliance of the workers and peasants," and was followed by Clodoveo TORRES Moss and Oscar BAUTISTA of the CNCG Executive Committee, and with their support succeeded in October 1962 in expelling Amor VELASCO de LEON, the Secretary of Organization and number-two man of the CNCG, a left-winger who nonetheless resisted the organization's moves toward the PGT orbit.

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Despite a Communist tint to his political thinking, however, CASTILLO Flores at times has been in conflict with the PGT leadership.

At present, the CNGG is closely affiliated with the left wing of the PAR and the leaderships of the two organizations are interlocked. CASTILLO Flores is a member of the PAR Political Committee. OVANDO Arriola, the President of Congress, is concurrently the CNGG's Secretary for Agrarian Affairs and the PAR's Secretary for Organization. TORRES Moss, the CNGG's Secretary for Organization and Propaganda, is the PAR's Secretary for Agrarian Affairs. Alfonso PORTILLO, a PAR Deputy and the PAR's Secretary for Youth, is the CNGG's Secretary for Records. Jose Ernesto LANFUR Fuentes, the PAR Deputy, is CNGG's Secretary for Culture.

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**OFFICERS OF
CONFEDERACION GENERAL DE TRABAJADORES DE GUATEMALA (COTO)
October 1952**

Victor Manuel GUTIERREZ

Secretary General

José Alberto CARDOZA

First Vice Secretary General

José Luis CACEROS

Second Vice Secretary General

Manuel PINTO Usaga

**Secretary for Propaganda
(absent as Consul General
in Mexico)**

Eugenio BOLANOS

Vice Secretary for Propaganda

Gonsalo GUTIERREZ

Secretary for Finance

Justo Rufino ARGUETA

Vice Secretary for Finance

Reyes GUINONEZ

Secretary for Liason

Maximiliano SALAZAR Garcia

Secretary for Organisation

Victor M. LEAL

Vice " " "

Eugenio BOROR Zet

Secretary for Communications

Antonio OVANDO Sánchez

Vice " " "

Marcos A. CUELLAR Lorenzana

**Secretary for Culture and
Social Welfare**

Natsul AGUIRRE Cook

**Vice Secretary for Culture
and Social Welfare**

César MONTENEGRO Paniagua

**Secretary for Agricultural
Relations**

José Luis RAMOS

**Vice Secretary for Agricultural
Relations**

Carlos Manuel PELLECKER

Secretary for Labor Disputes

Carlos MARIN

" " " "

José Luis ALVARADO (NOW DECEASED)

" " " "

Mario MORALES Vielman

" " " "

**Ex Chief of the Labor Union Commission of the Partido Guatemalteco
del Trabajo (POT)**
a known member of the POT

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Benjamin ESCOBAR Q.

Additional Secretary

Jesús BARRIOS Chaves

" "

Lorenzo MORALES

" "

Cecilia Castro de MENDOZA

" "

Isías RUIZ Robles

" "

Cuero Narciso ESCOBAR

" "

Florencia MENDOZA R. M.

" "

Manuel VILLAFUENTE

" "

Members Added October 10, 1952

Guillermo M. GONZALEZ

José Luis DEL CID

Juan A. CUYLLAR Leransana

Known member of the PGT

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CNCG

Communist Influence on the Confederacion Nacional Campesina de Guatemala:

The FGT exerts a strong ideological influence rather than organizational control over the CNCG, none of whose present officers are publicly known to be members of the FGT.¹ The CNCG is the national federation of campesino organizations, that is, organizations of hired farm workers, of small tenant farmers, and of small farmers, most of whom in Guatemala are Indians. Among farm laborers its activities overlap with those of the CGTG which is currently expanding its agricultural affiliates in connection with the Agrarian Reform Law. This has resulted in some organizational conflict and jealousies, none of which, however, have extended into the sphere of ideology. The CNCG's orientation has remained in harmony with the FGT Political Committee's program and, in September, 1953, the CNCG was reported by the FGT newspaper Tribuna Popular to have requested affiliation with the WFTU and the CTAL, a report which has not yet been confirmed.

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At present, the CNCG is closely affiliated with the left wing of the PAR and the leaderships of the two organizations are interlocked. Castillo Flores is a member of the PAR Political Committee. Ovando Arriola, the President of Congress, is concurrently the CNCG's Secretary for Agrarian Affairs and the PAR's Secretary for Organization. Torres Moss, the CNCG's Secretary for Organization and Propaganda, is the PAR's Deputy and the PAR's Secretary for Youth, is the CNCG's Secretary for Records. Jose Ernesto Lanfur Fuentes, the PAR Deputy, is the CNCG's Secretary for Culture.

1 Jose Luis Ramos, Secretary and head of the Peasant Commission of the FGT, was elected Secretary for Training of the CNCG at the CNCG Congress, May 28-June 1, 1952, but does not appear on a CNCG manifesto dated September 9, 1953.

2 Born on November 25, 1917.

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ANNEX 2

PART III

C. FGT AND GOVERNMENT PRESS AND RADIO

FGT Press/Title: Tribuna Popular

Background: The predecessor of the FGT/a daily eight page morning tabloid Tribuna Popular was the eight page weekly Octubre, founded in June, 1950, closed for about three months, and reopened to stay until 15 August 1953. Octubre was founded by the so-called Octubre group headed by Jose Manuel FORTUNEY, which previously had more or less clandestinely operated in the legal revolutionary party called PAR. Practically all the top FGT hierarchy today are ex-members of this Octubre group. Octubre attained an estimated weekly circulation of over five thousand.

As the FGT grew in influence and attained legality, a fund drive within the Party collected some \$10,000.00 from its basic organizations (cells), purchased printing presses formerly co-owned by the Vanguardia Popular (GP) of Costa Rica.

Key Personnel: Alfredo GUERRA Borges

Business address: 7a Avenida, No. 5-31

Home Address: 9a Avenida, No. 8-53

Guatemala, Guatemala, C.A.

Director of Tribuna Popular.

Carlos Rene VALLE y Valle

Business Address: 7a Avenida, No. 5-31

Home Address:

Guatemala, Guatemala, C. A.

Administrator of Tribuna Popular.

Media Coverage: Preparation of Material--Articles are signed in most cases in true name, but obvious pseudonyms are used sporadically. Average space utilization shows three or four pages of domestic news, one page of sports, one page of editorial, and one page of "advertisements," which are usually placed by official government institutions since few businessmen will buy space.

Printing and Publication: An estimated 5,000 copies are printed daily, Tuesday through Sunday. While the TP is the organ of the FGT, which raised funds in a public drive to establish the paper, attribution to the FGT is not made. The publishing company is Talleres Graficos, Guatemala, S. A., and is located at 7a Avenida No. 5-31, Guatemala, Guatemala, C. A. Organizational details of the publishing company are not known.

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Distribution and Efficiency: Some copies are hawked by all members on the streets of downtown Guatemala City at five cents per copy. Subscriptions are available. The majority of the circulation is said to be distributed to laboring elements outside Guatemala City, usually gratis. Public means of conveyance have been used for transporting the material. The distribution method is believed to be quite efficient in reaching the desired targets.

Character of Themes: In general, the TP poses as a self-constituted "guardian of the people's rights" and in that character it "exposes," "protests," "denounces," "interviews," and "supports," etc.

The major themes (1953) are the "peace" campaign, the Agrarian Reform, the cost of living, the National Front, Korea, McCarthyism, and labor.

The scare headline is used extensively.

Critique of Themes and Presentation: A critique of party propaganda was made on 9 January 1953 by Mario Alfredo SILVA Jonama, Secretary of the FUT education commission. (See Assessment on the Comision de Propaganda.)

Target Audience: The general group target of TP is the poor laborer and white collar worker, urban and rural.

Typical Names of Target Audience: (Names are of minor prominence)

Julio SOTO, President of Local Agrarian Committee, Tiquisate.
Arcadio OVALLE, President of CAL de Ipala.
Ereanndo AYALAM, Secy General of SET CAG.
Armando Ernesto CAMERO, leader of the Federacion Campesina de Ayutla.
Federico SAKENZ de Tejada, student.
Aracely SANDOVAL, humanities student.
Jorge Mario RODRIGUEZ, clerk, PAR.
Eduardo DIAZ Castillo, clerk, PAR.
Adrian CALDERON Garcia, leader of bakers syndicate.
Alberto SAMAYOA, laborer without party.
Victor Manuel GIRON Mairan, laborer without party.
(names taken from TP No. 79, 18 November 1953, and are typical.)

No mailing lists are available. Foreign letter drops known to have been used in the past are in the files but were not assembled in this assessment.

TP's effect on its target is estimated to be considerable. By emphasizing the Agrarian Reform theme, and carrying all the news on this subject, the TP assures itself of an audience. Target reactions as judged from interviews quoted in the newspaper are sizeable and represent a large numerical increase over the former weekly Octubre.

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The Agrarian Reform theme is considered the most appropriate for the TP target, filling a role formerly taken by the labor themes. Third in importance is probably the cost of living theme.

Relation to other Media: The TP plays the central role in the agit-prop activities of the FGT. It is in specific conflict with anti-Communist newspapers. Its attacks on the independent El Imparcial have often been as bitter as on these anti-Communist newspapers. A survey of 14 issues indicated that Huberto ALVARADO's column "con el ojo en la mira" was the TP medium for replying to other newspapers. In the issues mentioned, replies or attacks were noted on la Hora, Prrensa Libre, El Espectador, the Comite de Liberacion of Mexico, and the young Guatemalan exiles in Honduras and Nicaragua. The traditionally bitterest rivals of a CP paper are its socialist counterparts, but the PRG publicity organ El Socialista never attained wide circulation. It is interesting to note, however, that the FGT was responsible for rendering impotent the PS (later merged into PRG) influence with the CNGC.

Overt or Covert Support of Medium: It is believed that the Guatemalan Government supports the TP financially but of course no direct evidence is available. The FGT raised \$10,000.00 to start the paper in a funds drive among its cells, but such an amount is obviously inadequate to support a daily newspaper on a continuing basis. Income from circulation and advertising is said to be negligible. For example, the Diario de la Manana (5,000 circulation in 1949-51) now extinct) received about \$9,000.00 per month subsidy from the Guatemalan Government. Such figures may be used as a basis for estimating any suspected subsidy to TP.

Control: The FGT controls the TP through its Propaganda Commission and Party machinery. Both the Director and the Administrator are cadre men inside the medium.

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Individual PF Assessment Form (Enemy)

Title: Diario del Pueblo

Background: Circulation is estimated at about 2,000. It is a recent addition to Guatemalan news coverage and little information is available to date. It is the official organ of the Partido de la Revolución Guatemalteca (PRG).

Key Personnel: Alfonso Solorzano, Director.

Modus Operandi: Unknown.

Character of Themes: Strongly anti-United States. Follows a Communist-line editorial policy.

Target Audience: Unknown.

Relation to other media: Unknown.

Support and Control: Presumably financed and controlled by the PRG.

Title: Nuestro Diario

Background: A daily with an estimated circulation of 7,000. It was founded in 1922. It is said to be owned by the RN, PAR, and FPL parties.

Key Personnel: Paulino Ovalle, Director.
Madrino Blanco Buezo, Acting Director.

Modus Operandi: Nothing available.

Character of Themes: Pro-government, violently and consistently anti-United States. It follows the straight Communist line.

Target Audience: Nothing available.

Relation to other Media: Nothing actually available, but probably performs as an adjunct to Diario de Centro America in that it affords the government a semi-covert means of blasting the United States and praising Communism.

Support: The newspaper is reliably reported to be subsidized by the government.

Control: The government controls, although the agency or branch is not known.

Title: Diario de Centro America

Background: A daily founded in 1880 with a present circulation estimated at 5,000. It is owned by the Guatemalan Government. El Guatemalteco, the official gazette, is published with this paper.

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Key Personnel: Ramiro Ponce Monroy, Director.
Arturo Guevara Paniagua, Editor in Chief.

Modus Operandi: It is printed by the government-owned "Tipografia Nacional." Many government officials receive their copies free; subscriptions are available to the public.

Character of Theme: It carries themes in keeping with the social revolution and is the daily spokesman and apologist for the government. It follows a Communist, anti-United States line, but usually is not as blatant as the other anti-United States newspapers.

Major themes include the Revolution and its defense, the daily news, the national front, the Agrarian Reform, the Korean issue, McCarthyism, labor news, and the peace campaign.

Target Audience: It is directed at the middle and labor and farming classes. Emphasis on the Agrarian Reform insures a large audience among farm workers.

Relation to other media: The paper carries official pronouncements of the government while Nuestro Diario is employed as a medium to "leak" government news. The newspaper, by its pro-Communist line, is tied in with and subordinate to the RGT line.

The Diario de Centro America is supported financially and openly by the Guatemalan Government.

Control: Probably the President's office of publicity and propaganda.

Title: Radio Nuevo Mundo (TGJ & TGJA)
and Radio La Voz de Guatemala (TGW)

Background: La Voz de Guatemala is the official government outlet. It is directed by Carlos Alvarado Jerez. Radio Nuevo Mundo is pro-government. It is owned by Humberto Gonzalez Juarez and directed by Leonel Porne.

Key Personnel: See Background.

Modus Operandi: Unknown, although material for La Voz de Guatemala is probably prepared and furnished by the President's publicity and propaganda office.

Character of Themes: Consistently pro-Government.

Target Audience: The public as a whole.

Relation to other Media: La Voz de Guatemala is the official government spokesman but both stations carry material strongly slanted in favor of the government.

Supports Control: La Voz de Guatemala is officially owned and controlled by the government. Radio Nuevo Mundo is probably covertly controlled and subsidized, at least to some extent by the government.

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ANNEX A

PART IV

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ANNEX A

PART IV

A. THE GUATEMALAN ARMY

1. Strength and Deployment of the Guatemalan Armed Forces

The latest (21 April 1953) estimate of the total strength of the Guatemalan Army is set at approximately 6000 men. There is nothing to indicate the exact breakdown by unit of the distribution of arms, but the total strength of materiel is as follows:

| | |
|-----------|---|
| 6 | MMAL Light Tanks (4 operating) |
| 6 | Harmon Herrington Tanks - 12 ton, 3 man, w/37 mm. gun |
| 4 | MMAL Scout Cars |
| 6 | 81 mm mortars |
| 10 | 60 mm mortars |
| 6 | 120 mm guns (Krupp) |
| 4 | 105 mm howitzers (U.S.) |
| 18 | 75 mm guns (Krupp) |
| 20 | 75 mm pack howitzers (U.S.) |
| 22 | 70 mm mountain guns (French) |
| 6 | 60 mm mountain guns (German) |
| 42 | 42 mm mountain guns (French) |
| 7 | 57 mm guns (French) |
| 15 | 57 mm guns (U.S.) |
| 25 | .50 cal. Browning MGs. |
| 43 | .30 cal. LMGs (Browning) |
| 12 | .30 cal. HMGs (Browning) |
| 15-22,000 | rifles (Include 518 .30 M1, 308 .30 cal. carbines, 51 .30 cal BARs) |

From information readily available, the strength of the Army is deployed as follows:

Zone 1. (Coban)
Commandant and Chief of Zone, Col. Victor FERNANDEZ Moreno
23 Officers, 255 Enlisted Men
1 Hq. and Serv. Platoon
1 Rifle Company
1 Heavy Weapons Company
1 Reconnaissance Platoon
1 Battery 75 mm Krupp (3 guns)

Zone 2. (Zacapa)
Commandant and Chief, Col. Pedro MEYER Aragon
33 Officers, 601 Enlisted Men
1 Hq. and Serv. Company
3 Rifle Companies
1 Heavy Weapons Company
1 Reconnaissance Platoon
1 Battery 75 mm Anderson (6 guns)

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- Zone 3. (Jutiapa)
Commandant and Chief, Col. Agustin MORENO Aldana
Same as Zone 2 (less Battery 75s)
- Zone 4. (Masatenango)
Commandant and Chief, Col. Augusto CONDE Mandizabal
Same as Zone 1 (less Battery 75s)
- Zone 5. (Quezaltenango)
Commandant and Chief, Col. Bernardo ORDONEZ Juarez
Same as Zone 2
- Zone 6. (Quiche)
Commandant and Chief, Col. Jorge Hector CRUZ Salazar
Same as Zone 1 (less Battery 75s)
- Zone 7. (Guatemala City)
(
Most recent figures (14 September 1953) reflect
251 Officers and 1460 Enlisted Men. However,
subsequent breakdown count of Cuartel General
and the 1st and 2nd Regiments is taken from
reports several years old, the total of which
count is somewhat larger than present strength
estimates.)
Cuartel General
Commandant and Chief of Zone, Col. Jose Ruben
GONZALEZ Sigui
Officers 45, Enlisted Men 233
(Palace Guard, Presidential Staff and M.P.)
- First Regiment (Guardia de Honor)
Commander, Col. Gregorio BARZANALLANA Larrave
57 Officers, 735 Enlisted Men
Hq. and Service Company
1 R. Bn. (Hq. Det., Wpns. Co., 3 R. Cos.)
Tank Company
Artillery Battery (105 mm H)
AT Platoon (37 mm G)
AAA (AW) Battery (.50 cal.)
Band (20 Officers, 20 Musicians)
- Second Infantry Regiment (Base Militar)
Commander, Col. Jose Pablo DIAZ Gomez
57 Officers, 735 Enlisted Men
Same as 1st Regiment (Artillery Battery is 75 mm H)
- Military Base (Patzen)
Commandant, Col. Rodolfo SOLARES Castillo
17 Officers, 208 Enlisted Men
1 Rifle Company
- Military Base (Puerto Barrios)
(Name of Commander not available)
23 Officers, 283 Enlisted Men
1 Rifle Company
1 Battery .50 cal. AAA MG

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Military Base (San Jose)

(Name of Commander not available)

15 Officers, 208 Enlisted Men

Same materiel as Puerto Barrios

The Guatemalan Air Force (February 1953) is comparable in size to a United States Air Force Squadron. Its aircraft strength, antiquated and in poor state of repair, is comprised of the following:

4 P-26
7 T-6 (Armed)
4 T-11
2 C-47
1 C-48
1 UC-78

Personnel strength consists of 48 Officers and 185 Enlisted Men, plus an infantry security force of 1 Officer and 173 Enlisted Men.

The only first class airfield in the country is La Aurora Airport in Guatemala City. Second class paved airstrips are located at San Jose and Puerto Barrios, although the field at Puerto Barrios will not support medium bombers or jets. There are about 45 unpaved airstrips evenly distributed throughout the country which will serve aircraft up to C-47's.

The following personalities of the Guatemalan Air Force are listed:

| | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|
| Col. Luis A. GIRON C. | Chief, GAF |
| Col. Carlos A. SARTI | Deputy Chief, Exec. |
| Lt. Adolfo CASTILLO | Adjutant |
| Lt. Manuel de J. GIRON | A-1 |
| Major David E. ROULET | A-2 |
| Major Jose Luis LEMUS Ramis | A-3 |
| Major Enrique VALLADARES | A-4 |

There has been a report (9 September 1953) that Guatemala now has a "Navy" consisting of 6 small patrol type ships that serve also as fishing trawlers. They are said to be commanded by Army officers.

An Army officer, Col. Rogelio CRUZ Wer, has been Director of the National Police (Guardia Civil) since 15 May 1952. He is considered pro-Communist and is reported to be particularly brutal in his persecution of active anti-Communists.

CRUZ Wer's deputy is Major Jaime ROSENBERG, reported to be just as brutal and equally as pro-Communist as his chief.

There is a paucity of information regarding strength and structure of the Guardia Civil. It has police jurisdiction over the entire republic. As of March 1950, its strength, including a small intelligence unit, was estimated at 4700 men. However, an April 1953 report set its strength at 2800 men.

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2. Political Stability Within the Armed Forces

The Army's position vis-a-vis the present government is affected strongly by several factors that render difficult, although not impossible or even improbable, the subversion of Army units.

First, the government has gone to great lengths to see that key personnel of the Army is provided with allowances, exemptions and facilities which are denied the general population. "Key personnel" not only includes ranking officials but also officers of the lower grades and, in some cases at least, NCOs. These officials are given commissary privileges for life's necessities and some of the luxuries, are, in many cases, provided with living quarters at government expense, and they are exempt from duties on imported items. It has been reported the President personally has presented automobiles as gifts to many apparently underpaid officers. Col. SANCHEZ, Minister of Defense, has built a new modern home at a cost estimated conservatively at \$100,000 (U.S.). Col. DIAZ, Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces, has acquired a home and a finca and several ranking officers have been able to send their children abroad to be educated.

A second factor, quite possibly influenced by the first, is the Army's tendency to lean over backwards in its apparent determination to stay out of politics. This has led to at least a tolerance of communist infiltration and influence in the government.

A third factor is the ideological identification of numerous Army officers with the political doctrine of the 1944 Revolution, and perhaps with Communism.

There have been indications recently, however, that the Army is becoming seriously disturbed over the Guatemala situation, both internal and international. Faced with increasing taxation, Communism in the government, inability to easily obtain adequate material for the Army from foreign sources, and the sinking international prestige of Guatemala and its Army, top-ranking officers met of 18 November 1953 with President ARBENZ to seek clarification of his policies in regard to these matters. It is reported that the replies of ARBENZ to their questions were highly unsatisfactory and, as a result, there are indications that the Army is restless and its attitude toward the government may be undergoing a change as of the date of this writing.

Station Guatemala reports that, in regard to the material benefits and luxuries enjoyed by Army officialdom, these officers may be coming to the conclusion that ARBENZ is not the only person who can grant rewards and that they would do just as well under a changed regime.

In spite of the Army's official determination not to meddle in politics, it appears that, individually, Army officers are not averse to discussing methods of overthrowing the ARBENZ government. According to sources of Station Guatemala, a Lt. Col. of Infantry, Abraham MARROQUIN Sierra, stated that General DIAZ should oust the present government and that he would have the support of the Army in any move he might make to do so. He felt that DIAZ is passing up a good opportunity for action.

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This same officer, whose information was obtained on 15 April 1953, said that Guatemala is open to invasion from outside. He said that mercenary forces, if sufficiently well equipped, could successfully invade the country and defeat the Guatemalan Army. He specified, however, that this action must be concerted and efficiently organized and could only succeed if organized and led by a strong, or caudillo type, man.

3. Possibilities of Defections in the Armed Services

There is nothing in the files to indicate with certainty willing defectors among officers now on active duty in the Guatemalan Armed Forces; however, the officers listed below appear to be pro-American, anti-Communist and/or anti-government. Special consideration, it is believed, should be given to the previously mentioned Col. MARROQUIN, who somewhat startlingly pointed out a way to a possibly successful revolution.

- a. Col. Enrique PARINELLO de Leon, Army Chief of Staff. He is considered the most pro-American of all military leaders. He is level-headed, industrious and conservative.
- b. Col. Juan BOLANOS Gonzalez, Deputy Chief of Staff. He is considered an efficient and conscientious officer and is believed to be pro-United States. He attended Command and Staff School at Ft. Leavenworth in 1948.
- c. Col. Pedro MEYER Aragon, Commandant and Chief of the 2nd Military Zone, Zacapa. Ambitious, efficient, a capable officer and believed to be pro-United States.
- d. Col. Jorge Hector CRUZ Salazar, Commandant and Chief of the 6th Military Zone, Quiché. Young, alert, aggressive, pro-American attitude.
- e. Col. Ernesto MOLINA Arceaga, Adjutant General. He is cooperative with United States Army officers and believed to be pro-United States.
- f. Major Manuel C. CARRASCOZA Zea, Guatemalan Air Force. A pilot for AVIATECA. Serious and military. Considered to be pro-United States.
- g. Col. Juan Francisco OLIVA, currently Guatemalan Military Attache to Chile. He is considered completely pro-American, honest and intelligent. He is actually a political exile from Guatemala.
- h. Col. Jose Luis MORALES, Guatemalan Military Attache to the Honduras. Reports vary as to his attitude toward the United States, but his position indicates that he has the confidence of the present Guatemalan government.

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ANNEX A

PART IV

B. PARA-MILITARY FORCES IN GUATEMALA

There have been numerous reports over the period 1947-53 indicating para-military activity on the part of the Communists in Guatemala. These reports center on the labor unions and the Revolutionary parties. Arms were known to have been passed out to the labor unions and the Revolutionary parties during the events following the assassination of ex-triumvir Lt. Col. Francisco ARANA in July 1949.

Statements, by such prominent Communist leaders as Manuel PINTO Uscuga and Antonio SIERRA Gonzalez pointed to the existence of perhaps 300 to 500 weapons in the possession of the labor unions a year later in July 1950. SIERRA Gonzalez said that since ARANA's assassination, organized labor had maintained certain supplies of arms received from the Guardia Civil at that time.

SIERRA Gonzalez also complained that the Guardia Civil was confiscating labor union arms and not touching Partido Accion Revolucionario (PAR) which was probably the best armed civilian group in the country.

A recent report dated 1 November 1953 and evaluated F-Documetary indicates that 88 machine guns, 450 rifles, 88,000 rounds of machine gun ammunition and 45,000 rounds of rifle ammunition are stored in charge of 7 identified individuals for whom addresses were furnished, and that these arms are given a regular monthly inspection.

An Assistant United States Military Attache in Guatemala once was actually shown arms in the care of para-military elements.

It may safely be assumed that in a crisis the government will repeat its course of action in July 1949 and freely pass out arms to pro-government civilian groups, all of which are influenced to a greater or lesser extent by the PGT.

The militancy of the PGT-controlled labor groups was decisively demonstrated both following ARANA's assassination in 1949 and in the so-called "Minute of Silence" demonstration one year later. On the latter occasion union members received orders from labor leaders to assemble at SAMP (railroad union) headquarters, whence they proceeded to clash with the "Silence" demonstrators, three deaths resulting. Groups of leaders of SAMP, CTG, PSG, and PAR were constantly on duty during the demonstration and GUTIERREZ and PINTO were in constant contact with the government and with AREVALO.

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Today, the Party alone numbers 2,000 members at a conservative estimate. These make up but a portion of the total forces available to the Party in its own and the Guatemalan government defense. Accepting the Guatemalan government's own figure of over 100,000 organized union members, and discounting the sum total claim of the CGO and the CGO to over 200,000, even if only five persons out of a hundred were fighting militants, the Guatemalan government could count on the aid of five thousand fighting men. This does not include those members of the PUT, the Revolutionary parties and the "mass" organizations who would take up arms, perhaps a thousand more. With the Guatemalan Army's total of 6,000, possibly 12,000 men would be fighting for the government.

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CARIBBEAN LEGION

There have been recent reports that the Legion is expanding again, and since this might be a potential enemy asset, RQM/OIS has been requested to assemble material on this subject for later addition to the assessment.

The Caribbean Legion was a group of revolutionaries which, under the leadership of the Dominicans "General" Juan RODRIGUEZ and "General" Miguel Angel RAMIREZ Alcantara, made two abortive attempts to overthrow TRUJILLO in 1947 and 1949. Following the failure of the second attempt, the Legion disbanded, and RAMIREZ and Jorge IVALA Montes, second to RAMIREZ, remained in Guatemala, the base of the second attempt.

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